C. P. I. (M) STANDS FOR . . . 1

"The Communist Party of India (Marxist) strives to achieve the establishment of people's democracy and socialist transformation through peaceful means. By developing a powerful mass revolutionary movement, by combining parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forms of struggle, the working class and its allies will try their utmost to overcome the resistence of the forces of reaction and to bring about these transformations through peaceful means.

"However, it needs always to be borne in mind that the ruling classes never relinquish their power voluntarily They seek to defy the will of the people and seek to reverse it by lawlessness and violence. It is, therefore, necessary for the revolutionary forces to be vigilant and so orientate their work that they can face up to all contingencies, to any twist and turn in the political life of the country".

From the Programme of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST)

FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY!

AN OUTLINE OF GOA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE ...



by

GERALD PEREIRA

GOA STATE COMMITTEE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST)

Price: 50 paise



PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS' SUPPORT TO GOA'S FREEDOM

"The struggle of the peoples of Goa, Daman and Diu and other colonial people is not only, not against the interests of Portuguese people, but also runs parallel to the struggle of our people against both their national and international oppressors and exploiters.....

"Let us unite and organize in the struggle against the rearmament of Germany, against the Paris and London Agreements and for the formation of the General Treaty of Collective Security in Europe; let us unite in the struggle for the liberation of the peoples of Goa, Daman and Diu and their right to decide their destiny freely; let us unite in the struggle for sincere negotiations for the peaceful solution of the question of Goa, Daman and Diu; let us unite in the struggle against the sending of more troops to India and for the immediate return of all our soldiers from there; let us unite in the struggle for the immediate release of the Central Committee members of Movimento Nacional Democratico and of all democrats and patriots who are imprisoned!"

Lisbon (1954).

Polit Bureau, Communist Party of Portugal.



To the Memory of the Late Dr. Tristao de Braganza e Cunha Symbol of inspiration and organisation of the 18th June (1946) Movement.

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In Commemoration of the SILVER JUBILEE (1946 - 1971)of the Civil Liberties Movement in Goa

18th June, 1971. Sambhaji Na ar. (Vasco da Gama) GOA.





1. GOA BEFORE PORTUGUESE 1

This land of the Vedas, Mahabharata, Ramayana and the Puranas has got a history full of mythology every king or queen claiming some relationship with some God or Goddess.

The Sahyadri-Khanda relates that Parasurama, an incarnation of Lord Visnu, flung an arrow from the heights of the Sahyadri Ghats into the Arabian Sea and reclaimed Konkan. Thus Goa was born.

If we accept mythical Parasurama's feat we are doomed to historical, geographical and logical absurdities.

The land of Goa along with the Konkan existed centuries ago and its early inhabitants were most probably the Gavdas, the Kunbis and other aboriginal tribes. In the early centuries A. D. Goa became part of the Batpura Kingdom. Thereafter, by fourth century A.D. we know that Bhojas were ruling from Chandrapura (modern Chandor). It is possible that the island of Goa was known in those early times as Ravati-Dvipa, though some historians have identified Ravati-Dvipa with modern Redi at Ratnagiri. The Bhojas were followed by Konkan Mauryas.

The next important dynasty which dominates the affairs in Goa for over two and half centuries from about 765 A.D. to about 1015 A.D. was the family of South Konkan Silaharas, also known as the Goan Silaharas. They claimed their descent from the mythical Vidyadhara Jimutavahana who offered himself as food for Garuda, the eagle-king in order to save the Naga king (the serpent) destined for the divine bird. Most probably they founded and ruled from the city of Gopakapattana (Voddlem Goem). They may have shifted their capital subsequently to Valipattana (modern Valavli) in Ratnagiri. They were routed by the North Konkan Silaharas who were ruling from Sthanaka (modern Thana). They occupied Gopakapattana for some time, till they were ousted by

^{1.} Gerald Pereira: Excerpts from Pre-Portuguese History of Goa, Pp. iii-V.

the Kadambas of Goa who had established themselves at Chandrapura.

The Kadambas claimed their origin from the three-eyed and four-armed Jayanta or Trilochana-Kadamba who sprang from the earth at the foot of a Kadamba tree, where fell a drop of sweat from the fore-head of the God Siva after the defeat and conquest of the demon Tripura. The Kadambas have a glorious record and their kingdom at one stage extended from Thana in the north to the extreme corner of north Kanara in the South, bulging east-wards covering the districts of Belgaum and Dharwar. The Kadambas ruled from about 980 A.D. to about 1355 A.D.

Thereafter, Goa came under the sway of the Vijayanagara empire which lasted for about a century. By 1470 the Mahomedan Kingdom of Bahmani captured Goa from its Hindu rulers. The Mahomedans ruled from Ella (Velha Goa) or (Daklem Goem).

Then came the Portuguese to the East with sword and cross armed with Papal Bull to subjugate the peoples of the East. The Island of Goa was conquered by the Portuguese on 25th November, 1510.

2. CROSS BEFORE THE SWOR

The cruzaders, the pirates and the criminals longed for adventure, action and wealth. Infante Dom Henrique, the second son of Dom Joao I, the founder of the second Portuguese Royal Dynasty and his Queen Dona Felipa de Lencastre, established a nautical school in the promontory of Sagres, South Portugal. His main ambition was to discover the direct sea route to India. With this, started the expeditions of the white men to explore, discover and exploit the seas and lands, though in the beginning they sailed just a few miles along the African coast.

In 1441, Infante Dom Henrique requested the Holy See for a grant in perpetuity to the crown of Portugal of all the lands that might be discovered from Cabo Bojador to the far-away Indies. His Holiness, the Pope, and the College of Cardinals were too willing to concede the request, as that would deal a severe blow to the 'infidel' natives of Africa, the pagans of India and their arch-foes, the Saracens (Mahomedans). A Bull was accordingly issued by Pope Nicholas V on 8th January, 1+54, which was subsequently confirmed by Pope Sixtus IV.² Thus the Roman Catholic Church gave vast and immense powers to the Portuguese to 'discover' the lands and 'subjugate' the peoples in the then non-Catholic world.

Pope Nicholas V promulgated the following Bull giving Prince Henry of Portugal monopoly of all the lands discovered in the East:

"Our joy is immense to know that our dear son, Prince of Portugal, following the foot-steps of his father of illustrious memory, King John, inspired with a zeal for souls like an intrepid soldier of Christ, has carried into the most distant and unknown countries the name of God and has brought into the Catholic fold the perfidious enemies of God and of Christ such as the Saracens and the Infidels.



2. F.G. Danvers: The Portuguese in India, Vol. I, P. 21

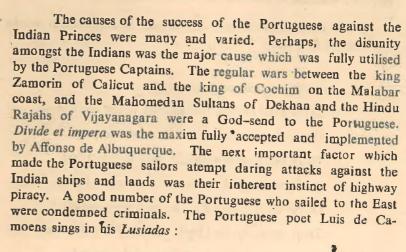
"After having established Christian families in some of the unoccupied islands of the ocean and having consecrated churches there for the celebration of Holy Mysteries the Prince, remembering that never within the memory of man had anyone been known to navigate the sea to the distant shores of the Orient, believed that he could give God the best evidence of his submission, if by his effort the ocean can be made navigable as far as India, which, it is said, is already subject to Christ. If he enters into relations with these people, he will induce them to come to the help of the Christians of the West against the enemies of the faith. At the same time, he will bring under submission, with the King's permission, the pagans of the countries not yet afflicted with the plague of Islam and give them knowledge of the name of Christ.

"It is thus that during the last twenty-five years that without the support of the armies of Portugal, but in the midst of the greatest perils and faced by the greatest trials, he in his fast caravels, searched without repose the meridional regions to the Antartic pole across the oceans, and after having traversed numerous seas reached at last the province of Guinea and from there pushed further to the mouth of the river commonly known as the Nile (sic.).

"We, after careful deliberation, and having considered that we have by our apostolic letters conceded to King Affonso, the right, total and absolute, to invade, conquer and subject all the countries which are under rule of the enemies of Christ, Saracen or Pagan, by our apostolic letter we wish the same King Affonso, the Prince, and all their successors, occupy and possess in exclusive rights the said islands, ports and seas undermentioned, and all faithful Christians are prohibited without the permission of the said Affonso and his successors to encroach on their sovereignty. Of the conquests already made, or to be made, all the conquests which extend to Cape Bojador and Cape Non to the coast of Guinea and all the Orient is perpetually and for the future the sovereignty of King Affonso."

Thus armed with holiest blessings and godly powers and of course deadly weapons, the Portuguese marauders wrought havoc and destruction in the lands of Africa and the East.

3. THE FALL OF GOA



"With Gama sailed a bold adventurous band,
Whose headlong rang had urged the guilty hand,
Stern Justice for their crimes had asked their blood".

Besides, the Portuguese were armed with two powerful weapons: spiritual—the Papal Bull which empowered them to destroy and conquer the lands of the heathens; and material—the superiority in warfare having cannon and gunpowder.

The Englishman Fredrick Charles Danvers was forced to comment: "The hostility of the Arabs and natives of India to the Portuguese pretensions in the East, which was caused primarily by a desire to retain the control of that trade which had for several centuries so enriched all who had a share in it, was also greatly increased by the inhuman barbarities too often resorted to by the Portuguese in order to crush their opponents and to drive them from Indian Seas. The destruction of defenceless towns, the



indiscriminate] murders of their opponents, and the wholesale piracy openly practised on the high seas in the name of civilised nation, naturally enough raised a spirit of opposition and retaliation on the part of those whose interests and lives were also seriously menaced".

The English Dramatist, Cumberland, in his classical works "Historical Fragments" chants:

'With avarice and ambition fir'd,

Eager alike for plunder and for fame,

Onward they press to spring upon the prey.

There every spoil obtained, with greedy haste

By force or fraud could ravish from the bands

Of Nature's peaceful sons, again they mount

Their richly frighted bark. She, while the cries

Of widows and of orphans rend the strand,

Striding the billows, to the venal winds

Spreads her broad vans, and flies before the gale''.

It was on 25th November, 1510 that the Portuguese together with their allies led the attack on the island of Goa. At that time, Goa was under Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur. Timoja, who had held back at Angediva, also joined the great battle which has been described by the historians as the 'bloody'. The Mahomedans offered resistance and fought bravely. Affonso de Albuquer. que succeeded in occupying the city (Velha Goa) and the island of Goa.³

Though it took them only a few hours to capture Goa and rout the Mahomedan garrison, there was general destruction in the town and the slaughter of the population for four days. The Commentaries of Affonso de Albuquerque testify: "And after the



city had been pillaged Affonso de Albuquerque told the captains to reconnoitre the whole of the island and to put to the sword all the Moors, men, women and children, that should be found, and to give no quarter to any one of them; for his determination was to leave no seed of this race throughout the whole of the island..... And for four days continously they poured out the blood of the Moors who were found therein; and it was ascertained that of men, women, and children, the number exceeded six thousand".4

Affonso de Albuquerque himself wrote a letter⁵ to King Dom Manuel I of Portugal on 22nd December, 1510 describing the re-conquest of Goa:

"In the capture of Goa, destruction of their trenches and entry into the fortress, Our Lord did much for us, because he willed that we should complete the great deed and do it better than we could have asked. More than 300 turks perished there, and from that place to the strait of Banastary and Gondaly, many dead men lay by on the roads who had escaped with wounds and fell there, and many others were drowned crossing the river, and many horses. Afterwards, I burnt the city and put all to the sword and for four days on end your men bled them. Whenever we would find them, no Moor was spared, and they filled the mosques with them and set them on fire. I ordered the farmers and Brahmins to be spared. We counted and found that 6,000 souls of Moorish men and women had been slain and many of their archers died. Sir, it was a great deed, well fought and well finished, and besides Goa being so important a thing, this is the first time that vengeance has been taken in India for the treachery and villany the Moors have done to your Highness and your people. It will resound everywhere and the fear of it will bring great places to your obedience, without your having to conquer and take possession of them They will do no more villany, being aware that they will have to pay for it promptly. Some Hindoo chiefs who had been robbed of their lands by the Turks. learning of the destruction of Goa, came down from the moun-

^{3.} Affonso de Albuquerque: The Commentaries, Vol. III, Pp. 9-15.

^{4.} Affonso de Albuquerque: The Commentaries, Vol. III, P. 16

^{5.} Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, Vol. I, Pp 26-27.

tains where they had taken refuge and helped me and seized the fords and ways, and put to the sword all the Moors who escaped from the city and spared the life of none. I am not leaving a single Moorish tomb or building standing, and the men taken alive I have roasted. They caught a renegade here and I had him burnt".

The Portuguese re-conquered the Island of Goa from the Mahomedans on 25th November, 1510; the districts of Salcete (inclusive of Marmagoa) and Bardez were conquered by 1543. These four districts made what was known as Velhas Conquistas or the Old Conquests. The remaining seven districts of Pernem, Sanquelim (Bicholim or Batagram), Satari, Ponda (or Antruz), Sanguem (or Astagrar and Embarbacem), Quepem (or Balli, Chandravadi and Cacora), and Canacona with Cabo de Rama, were annexed by the Portuguese by the middle of the eighteenth century. They were known as Novas Conquistas or the New Conquests.

The Portuguese Empire in the East slowly expanded and thereafter reached its zenith till they were beaten by the Dutch. In Goa, though in the beginning the Hindus were given preferences, religious persecution started by 1540. The Catholic missions from Portugal arrived in India for propagating the religion and for the conversion of the "pagans" and the "saracens". The age old village communities though maintained by Albuquerque, in due course were brought under the control of the state.

By the middle of the sixteenth century came the Inquisition (Auto da Fe) through which large number of converted Christians as well as others were burnt to death. By the middle of the seventeenth century the Portuguese power in the East declined and in due course they lost most of their colonies to other Western Powers. By the middle of the eighteenth century the liberal forces in Portugal were strengthened and the absolute powers of their Sovereigns were curtailed. Marques de Pombal, one of the famous Prime Ministers of Portugal, curbed the powers of the once powerful clergy, expelled the Jesuits and extinguished the Inquisition. By the end of the eighteen century the Portuguese power in the East completely collapsed and the remnants of

their old glory were preserved in Goa, Daman and Diu in India, Macao in China and Timor in Indonesia.

In 1910 there was a bourgeois revolution in Portugal, the king was shot dead and Portugal was proclaimed a Republic Parliamentary Democracy was ushered in and limited civil liberties were granted to the people of Goa for the first time only to be removed in 1935 with the advent of counter-revolution and fascism.

The writings of Ferishta, Shaik Zein-ud-deen, Maffeius, Paulino Mickle, Dellon, Pyrard and a host of other historians' testify the horrible atrocities committed by the Portuguese in the course of the centuries.



6. Konkana-Khyana, -

7. Affonso de Albuquerque: The Commentation

4. ATROCITIES AND EXPLOTAITION IN GOA

Soon after dealing a deadly blow against the Mahomedans, the Portuguese turned their attention towards the Hindus in order to win their confidence, Albuquerque was thankful for the help rendered by one Mhall Pai of Verna who was holding the post of Sardesai, in his first conquest of Goa.6 The Portuguese could also never forget the tremendous assistance given by Timoja in both the first conquest and the re-conquest of Goa. Accordingly, Albuquerque entrusted the collection of land revenue to the Hindus, under the supervision of Portuguese officers; it is stated that he reduced the revenue by 50 per cent.7 It is probable that he decreased the part which had been increased by the Mahomedan rulers. However, through Foral de Usos e Costumes passed on 16th September 1526, the Portuguese tightened their control over the Comunidades and used their powers arbitrarily to extract excessive taxes and confiscate the lands. Subsequently, it was declared that the King of Portugal was the direct owner of all the lands in Goa and that the real owners were only "renters".

Then slowly, the Portuguese turned against their allies. Timoja was removed from the governorship. The easy wealth obtained from the loot permitted them to enjoy cheap and ostentatious life. Then began the history of persecution of the Hindus, and destruction of the temples, and construction of convents, monasteries and churches. The Portuguese resorted to forcible conversions of Mahomedans and Hindus into Christians.

On 30th June 1541, the Governor ordered in Ilhas (Island of Goa) that "All the Hindu temples be destroyed, not leaving a single one on any of the islands. On 3rd March, 1546, the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Joao de Castro, directed the demolition of Hindu temples, forbidding the celebration of Hindu festivals, the

6. Konkana-Khyana, Ut-tarardh, VIII, P. 80.

7. Affonso de Albuquerque: The Commentaries, Vol. II, P. 127.

banishment of their priests and the punishment of the markers of idols.

St. Francis Xavier, who by now was in Goa, realizing that there would not be voluntary converts to his faith, had prepared a detailed plan for Christianisation which included the total destruction of Hindu temples and forcible conversions. In a letter8 written from Cochin to Fr. Simao Rodrigues on 20th January, 1548, St. Francis Xavier stated : ".... According to my experience, the only effective way to spread religion in India is for the king to proclaim by means of an edict to all his officials in India that he shall put trust only in those who will exert themselves to extend the reign of religion by every means in their power. The King must definitely order them to concern themselves with zeal to multiply the number of Christians in Cape Camorin in order to attract to the faith of Jesus Christ, the islands of Ceylon, and to muster all the pious people, be they members of our Society (the Jesuits) or others that may seem fit for propagating religion..... If the king publishes such an edict and treats severely those who disobey it, a great number of the natives will embrace the faith-of Jesus Christ; otherwise, no success can be expected

"Now you know how I think about this matter. I shall only say that if what I ask is done, our poor converts will be defended against injustice and theft, other natives will without difficulty enter the community of Christ, for if in the spread of the Christian religion the authority of His Majesty and that of the Viceroy is not made felt, nothing will be done."

Again St. Francis Xavier himself wrote to the King of Portugal, Dom Joao III⁹: "...... so long as the Viceroys and the Governors of India be not under the influence of the fear of losing their properties and their offices when not labouring for the conversion of a great number of infields Your Majesty should not expect great fruits from the evangelical preaching in India,

Quoted by T. B. Cunha: The Denationalisation of Goans (1944);
 Memorial Volume—Goa's Freedom Struggle, Pp. 68-69.

^{9.} Quoted by T. B. Cunha: The Denationalisation of Goans (1944); Memorial Volume.—Goa's Freedom Struggle, Pp. 69-70.

nor expect that a great number come for baptism and that already baptised make any religious progress."

It was mainly under the pleadings of St. Francis Xavier that the Portuguese established that notorious "Holy Court" of Inquisition. Both Christians and non-Christians suffered at the hands of the Inquisitors corporal punishment, worse tortures and death by burning. The Portuguese Archbishop¹⁰ of Evora (Portugal) at the grand ceremony of the third centenary of the cathedral of Lisbon declared: "..... If everywhere the Inquisition was an infamous court, the infamy, however base, however vile, however corrupt and determined by wordly interest, it was never more so than the Inquisition of Goa, by irony of fate called the Holy Office. The Inquisitors even attained the infamy of sending to their prisons women who resisted them, there satisfying their beastly instincts and then burning them as heretics."

On 23rd May, 1559 the Hindus were forbidden from holding any public office. In the same year it was further decreed that the property of any Hindu dying without male heir would pass on those of his relations who would accept Christianity. In 1560, the Viceroy Dom Constantino de Braganza ordered the banishment of all the Brahmins and goldsmiths from the Island of Go2 and confiscation of their properties.

We are reproducing the following two important paras from Dr. T. B. Cunha's "Portuguese India" (1939):

"As the time advances the persecution becomes more and more intense. The law of the 4th December 1567 compels the Hindus to attend the Christian religious instruction, forbids their religious books and orders that Christians who do not attend mass be fined should they happen to be rich and flogged by the ushers if poor. In this same year, Diogo Rodrigues, captain of the fort of Rachol, pulled down 280 Hindus temples in Salcete not sparing a single one. The provision of the 7th of February 1574 orders the confiscation of properties belonging to exiled Hindus who happen to return without permission. By the 4th Bishops' Council of Goa it is forbidden to Christians to go to Hindu barbers for



shaving. As there still were temples in the villages of Cuncolim, Veroda, Assolna, Velim and Ambelim, the Jesuit-fathers Antonio Francisco and Pero Berno with the help of the military burned the temples of Assolna and Cuncolim and because they were rebuild by the Hindus not only were these temples destroyed but even lands and properties were devastated. In 1583, the Hindus took revenge by killing some Jesuits who are known as martyrs of Cuncolim. As a punishment, the properties of these villages were confiscated and some of them given to a Portuguese family which still holds them. By the law of 1598, the Christians were forbidden to learn any trade from Hindu masters. A number of such laws, more severe, were passed under which such atrocious crimes were committed that the Hindus who welcomed the Portuguese to inflict revenge on the Mahomedans found that the God of Christians was much more ferocious than that of the Mahomedans. Father Alexandre Valignano, visitor of the Jesuit province, acknowledges in 1595 that the infidels are not converted "by common means of preaching and education but through other just means". Even in 1633, a provision of the viceroy, Count of Linhares, prohibited the Hindus to live in Salcete, confiscated all their properties and only allowed them to trade so long as they did not stay there more than two months and did not pass through Jesuit lands. Under-aged Hindu orphans were sent to the schools of the priests to be baptised and given religious instruction. Thus, both the persecution of the Hindus and the material benefits offered to the new converts, induced many to embrace the Christian religion; but many others preferred to exile themselves rather than deny their old faith.



Some viceroys and governors tried in their execution to water down intolerant laws coming from Portugal, but so strong was the influence of the priests, specially the Jesuits, on the fanatical kings that the latter repeatedly pulled up their representatives to their strict observance under severe penalties. In 1561, the viceroy Count de Redondo, complained that the religious persecutions caused the desertion of villages, lack of labourers for the fields, the abandonment of lands and the flights of artisans. He tried to withdraw the rigorous measurs against the Hindus, but in vain. The Chamber of Goa complains to the King in 1603 that the

Quoted by T. B. Cunha: Portuguese India (1939); Memorial Volume
 —Goa's Fredoom Struggle, P. 12.

priests of the Society of Jesus improverish the State by plundering the Hindus and that the Society's income comes to half of that of State. The result of the complaint was to forbid the priests to buy or inherit properties, but they were powerful enough to disobey or evade the law. The viceroy, D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, informed the king that in some parts "the number of monks and clergy exceed that of the inabitants." Every Portuguese sailor landing in Goa perferred to become a monk. The viceroys, D. Braz de Castro and Luiz de Mendonza Furtado, complained that the streets, of the town were desert, that the Catholic clergy and the monks led licentious and scandilous life, They both accused the clergy, specially the Franciscans, of abducting women and living with them, of selling sacraments, of using the churches in Bardez as houses of pleasure, of beating the Indian Christians and of not burying the dead of the poor people without extracting money. During the whole of the 17th century, immorality and licentiousness prevailed in Goa among the clergy who lived in luxury and debauchery. Under this regime which lasted up to the 18th century, Goa that had been a great commercial emporium when the Portuguese first came, had completely decayed. The Marquis of Pombal, the great Portuguese statesman and reformer, tried to establish order and justice in the rulers' own interest. In 1774, he decreed that the practice of Hindu rites should not be interferred with and that their individual freedom and the possession of their properties should be warranted. He exiled Jesuits, confiscated their properties and abolished the Court of Inquisition. But it was only when the constitutional regime came, that a relative religious freedom was restored. But even then, as Catholicism was the State religion, the Hindus remained as pariahs in their own country. Right in the 20th century, in 1907, a law forbade them from being teachers in primary schools. In 1910, after the advent of the republican regime the separation of Church and State was declared in Portugal, but this law was not extended; to the colonies. Thus even the republican anti-clerical governments considered the Catholic religion as a good weapon for the political subjection of colonial peoples although considered harmful for their own country. Even to-day Catholicism enjoys in Portuguese India a privileged position, at the expense of the public treasury as we shall see from our analy-

sis of the State budget. In virtue of art. 248 of the "Carta Organica" (charter) of the Portuguese Colonial Empire, the Catholic missions are considered as "instruments of national culture and influence" and they are permitted "the needful means of action towards the natives." This is the legal confirmation of the imperialistic function entrusted to the Catholic clergy".

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5. RESISTANCE, REVOLTS AND REBELLIONS

Just a glimpse at the history will show that the Goans never accepted the sovereignty of Portugal over Goa. The struggle of the people of Cola at Marmagoa in 1555; the defiance of the villages of Cuncolim, Assolna, Velim, Ambelim and Veroda against religious persecution in the year 1582; Ghodpure's and Bounsle's revolts of 1739; fifteen successive revolts by Ranes in Satari from 1755 to 1824; conspiracy of Pintos at Bardez in 1785; Dipaji Rane's revolt of 1852; Kustoba's revolt in 1869; Goan Police Mutiny of 1870-71; Dada Rane's revolt of 1895; More's revolt in 1912 and the last of the Ranes' revolts in 1913 are but the milestones in Goa's long and heroic history of resistance against alien Portuguese domination 11. Most of the Ranes' revolts were against heavy taxation and usurpation of their lands.

While some fought with guns, the intellectuals used their pen vociferously to win the lost freedom. Long before the Indian National Congress was born, Francisco Luis Gomes, a Goan patriot and a member of Portuguese Parliament, in a memorable and historic oration made in the Lisbon Parliament raised the voice for freedom of India.

This great pioneer of modern Goa, embracing the French savant Lamartine in 1861, declared:

"I was born in Oriental India, the cradle of poetry, of philosophy and of history, and today their grave.

"I belong to that race which composed the Mahabharata and invented chess... But this nation which recorded her laws in poems and formulated her politics in the rules of a game exists no longer.

"Here she lies, chained in her own country, exhausted of all her fecundity, and in obscurity amidst the dezzling brilliance

of her own glory. Beating itself against the walls of its bird has lost its wings which once made it soar higher than the Himalayas and lamenting its lost liberty and dimmed light, this Nightingale has forgotten its song the melody of which mounted to the heavens.

"I demand liberty and light for India. . . ".

Then came the great Luis de Menezes Braganza on the scene. He was progressive in outlook and attacked the Portuguese Regime through the columns of journals "O Debate", "Prakash" and others. He dominated the political scene of Goa for nearly forty years till he died on 10th July 1938. He fought with all his power against the clerical obscurantism and the Fascist Dictatorship.

". In the biting attacks against his Portuguese opponents, he rather took the attitude of a teacher giving lessons to ignorant pupils... On such occasions, the foreign rulers were clearly reminded by him, at the height of their power, that the Goans had not resigned themselves to remain forever a conquered people... This same passion for freedom and progress made of him the staunchest enemy of the present Fascist Dictatorship" 12.

Adeodato Baretto, born in Goa in the year 1905, died at the early age of 32 of tuberculosis in Portugal. He spent his entire life in Portugal dedicating, however, to the cause of Goa's Freedom. He founded a newspaper. "India Nova" (New India) and subsequently contributed to the Portuguese liberal magazine "A Voz da Justiça" (The Voice of Justice). Adeodato helped the publication of a series of pamphlets called "SWATVA", the first of which described and depicted the life and work of Bhagat Singh.

Great poet as he was, he worked under most difficult conditions and clashed with the Fascist Regime. "O Livro da Vida" (The Book of Life) a collection of his famous poems published posthumously is a living monument for his patriotism and courage.



^{11.} Goan Age: (Monthly Magazine), Vol. I, No. 5, (1954) P. 3

^{12.} T. B. Cunha: Free Goa (English Fortnightly), 10-7-1954.

For his active work among the Portuguese mining workers, he was dubbed "Communist" by the Regime 13.

Dr. Tristao Braganza Cunha was a veteran leader, an eminent journalist, a versatile writer and a great revolutionary.

For the first time, dialectical method was introduced by him in the Goan Thought. He analysed the historical evolution in Goa on scientific basis, pruning it of prevailing ideas of subjectivism. He eradicated it of idealism and developed it on marxist basis.

In the thick of the great Civil Liberties Movement of 1946, Dr. T. B. Cunha was the first to be court-martialled and sentenced to eight years imprisonment. He was incarcerated in the notorious Aguada Fort, and thereafter deported to Portugal and exiled in the dungeons of the Fortress of Peniche.

Dr. T. B. Cunha tirelessly worked for nearly four decades for the liquidation of the Portuguese Regime and integration of Goa with India.

With pen and sword, the Goan people fought for their freedom. With the advent of fascism in Portugal, the conditions in the colonies, including Goa became worse. The resistance movement had to be organised altogether on a different pattern. And that was the task faced squarely by the organisers and participants of the 18th June (1946) Movement.

Though it was May, the days in Portugal were neither hot nor cold. Lisbon stood there magnificently like the Queen of the Atlantic. Variety of scenery added attractive beauty to the lovely country. Luxuriant vegetation of pine, chestout and olive trees offered a picturesque view to the eye. Cool fresh wind hustled across the land.

It was 28th May, 1926. In the morning the people were going about their business as usual. Perhaps, nobody cared to know what was in store for them in future... And then came the bands "The demonstrations are continuing" people remarked and paid no more attention. A "Truck" went across the main road to what destination nobody knew. There were shouts. Were not the cries "Viva Republica? They are demonstrating in favour of Sr. They are liberals! They are Republicans! No....... They are Monarchists!...... Silence was broken and showers of bullets went round. There were disturbing news. There was looting. There was burning. Theatres, newspapers of progressive tendency were pillaged. Gangs of army-men ran through the streets. "Viva Revolução Nacional!"-Thus echoed the slogan. General Gomes da Costa forced the President, Bernardino Machado to hand over the reins of the Government in the hands of the Comandante Mendes Capeçadas. The army captured power. With very little fighting the counter-revolution was a success. The Young Portuguese bourgeois-democratic Republic was murdered. After two years the army put up its boy "Dictator Salazar" in power and thus began a great chapter of savagery, brutality and darkness in Portugal and in its overseas Colonial Empire. Salazar under the heavenly blessing of his colleague Cardinal Cerejeira ruled Portugal and the Colonles with iron hand and terror for the sole benefit of army brass-hats, bankers and monopoly capitalists.

^{6.} FASCISM AND SUPPRESSION OF ELEMENTARY
HUMAN RIGHTS

^{13.} Goan Age (Monthly Magazine), Vol. I, No. 4, (1954) P. 11

The Opposition was ruthlessly crushed and all semblances of parliamentary democracy were abolished; the race theory was upheld. The Acto Colonial of 1931 proclaimed the superiority of the Portuguese race over the colonial people. Article two of this Act stated "It is part of the essential objects of the Portuguese Nation to fulfil its historical mission of possessing and colonising overseas dominions and of civilising the native population inhabiting them, as well to influence them by its culture, a function ascribed to it by the Eastern Padroado". Thus with one stroke of the pen, Salazar classified the white Portuguese (who themselves were/are the victims of fascism) as the possessors and the Goans as the possessed.

By the New Constitution of 1933 which was forced on the people of Portugal by army bijonets under a so-called plebiscite all illegalities were legalized. The proviso to Art. 8 declared: "Imprisonment without formal charge is permitted in cases of flagrante delictu and in cases of the following actually committed, prevented or attempted crimes. Those against the safety of the state..."

Salazar organized his Uniao Nacional corresponding to Mussolini's Fascist and Hitler's Nazi Parties. The blackshirt Milizia and brownshirt Sturmabteilung equalled the Portuguese greenshirt Legiao. The Italian Dopolavoro or the German Kraft Durch Freude matched the Portuguese organisation called "Joy Through Work". While Salazar's Gestapo is PIDE (Policia Internacional para Defeza do Estado) trained by very Himler himself.

The Portuguese Dictatorship established most brutal and oppressive fascist regime in Goa. Freedom of speech, press or

association was suppressed. No political party nor a social or cultural organisation could be organized. To organize a public meeting was in offence and to address one was a crime. Only one party—the oficial Uniao Nacional together with its youth front—Mocidade Portuguesa was allowed to function. Only those papers which bootpolished the regims were tolerated. Strict censorship was imposed and even a cinema hand-bill, a calendar or a wedding invitation card could not be printed without the previous sanction of the Censor Authorities. Salazar himself boldly declared in 1966:"... We are anti-parliamentarian, anti-democratic and and anti-liberal and we are determined to establish a corporate state...".

The fascist dictatorship completely ruined the economy of Goa. The tarift system of Goa was subject to the interest of the metropolitan Regime in Portugal. India was considered a foreign country. Still, hundereds of Goans emigrated to Bombay and elsewhere in India and sent their remittances home. The second world war worsened the conditions, and the people were forced to eat jowar and maize and live on semi-starvation diet. The Government to meet its deficits increased land revenue, stamp duty, taxation on alcoholic drinks and indirect taxation on the already empoverished people. The Government was not at all interested in educational advancement, agricultural and industrial development. Fascism accelerated economic deterioration, cultural degradation and suppression of the most elementary human rights.

Dr. Tristao Braganza Cunha in his famous pamphlet "Portuguese India After 400 Years of Foreign Rule" (1939) castigated the foreign rulers and propounded the Manifesto for the freedom of Goa:

"The only hope that is left to us is the consoling fact that this centuries' old denationalization is giving way before the triumphant struggle of our brothers in blood against the most powerful imperialism on earth.

"Only men lacking in all sense of reality and living in a fools' paradise will be able to believe that Portuguese imperialism can prevent us from re-entering into the great nation...

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"It is our imperative duty to shake off the pernicious foreign influence which has for centuries weighed not only on Portuguese India but on her emigrants, subjected to foreign clerical influence; no less essential and pressing is the realization of this much-desired unity with India...

"For Portuguese India, the immediate need is to attain the level reached in British India, by winning civil liberties which foreigners claim to have the right to deny us in our own county".

Dr. Cunha further elaborated the thesis in his classic "The Denationalisation of Goans." (1944). He declared:

"... The salvation depends therefore on our will to cultivate a national and human dignity in ourselves, to free our mind from the spirit of servility and imitation, of our ape-like and characterless moods, reacting vigorously against our rules in the political, ideological, social and economic fields, and even in the most everyday habits of our life...

"We have to follow the example of the Great India, to reach the level it has attained as a result of a persistent stuggle, accompanying our Indian brothers in their fight against imperialism and sharing in their efforts. To be able to share in the material and moral benefits of National Independence, it is indispensable for us to stand beside them in the struggle at this fateful hour...

"We are living on the threshold of a new world. Fascism is crumbling. Imperialism is doomed to self-destruction through its own internal contradictions and by the mutual rivalry of its factions. Out of the present war a new democracy of nations is surging where peoples who have given the highest example of sacrifice for the defence of their motherland will prevail their rules and doctrines. In this new world only those who are able to fight for the cause of freedom will survive. It is high time Goans got rid of their enslavement and cowardice and became worthy of living in the new humanity".

Dr. Cunha was the guiding spirit of the Goa Congress Committee (disaffiliated by the Indian National Congress subse-

quently) which conducted underground work in Goa. The Gomantak Praja Mandal, the Goan Youth League and other political organisations and groups also contributed in their own way in the process of re-nationalization of Goans and in preparing the people for the ensuing freedom struggle.

In spite of over 400 years of foreign rule and forcible attempt at denationalisation, the urge for freedom kindled the hearts of various sections of the population. The post-war economic bankruptcy and the freedom movement in the rest of the country only accelerated the flames of steadily growing national spirit. The outburst was imminent.

7. MOVEMENT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES

"The military defeat of the fascist powers headed by Hitlerite Germany and the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in smashing the fascists aggressors, sharply altered the aligment of of class forces on the world arena in favour of socialism. The crushing defeat inflicted in the war on the belligerent German, Italian and Japanese fascist powers, not only put these states out of commission for a long period, but also resulted in the general weakening of imperialism on the world scale. World imperialism proved atterly incapable of preventing the emergence of people's democratic states in a number of countries of eastern Europe which facilitated the formation of the world socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. Inspired by these historic victories of socialism and the debacle of imperialism, powerful national liberation struggles against colonial rule swept throughout the countries of Asia. India, too, witnessed a mass revolutionary upheaval against British rule. Peasant revolts, general strikes of workers, student strikes, states' people's mass struggles developed on an unprecedented scale. The armed forces and the naval forces revolted in many places"14

Goa with full force. The paddy-fields looked like vast seas of water. The village boys enjoyed the throw of pebbles and little stones in the streams with the resultant ripples and ever-widening circles of wavy waters. While the peasant-women were busy in transplanting the paddy-saplings with their koronddes of palm-leaves on, the birds were deep inside their nests. The heavy rains had lashed incessantly at every roof. The climate was cool and one enjoyed with admiration the beauty of nature and the grandeur of the tropics... like a volcano there was an erruption. It was the suppressed Goan that lashed out at the deep rooted fascism.

It was 18th June--the year, one thousand nine-hundered

14. Programme, Communist Party of India (Marxist). P. I.

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and forty-six, anno Domini; the place was Margao and the site—the ground opposite the Municipality; the time—4.30 p.m. Dr. Rammanobar Lohia accompanied by Dr. Juliao Menezes got down from the victoria. Captain Miranda the white officer and the Administrator of Salcete instructed them to go back in the same vehicle. Paying no heed they started walking towards the mass of people which had gathered in huge numbers. Some three Goans went forward to garland them. Captain Miranda took out his revolver and pointed it at the men with garlands. Dr. Lohia stepped in and caught hold of the hand of the Captain and advised him to be calm. They proceeded towards the people and Dr. Lohia started his address. The white-skinned Commandante de Policia immediately placed both under arrest and skipped them to the Police Station. The law was broken, the offence was complete and the offenders were arrested.

This was the signal for mass defiance. The huge crowd became restless. For the first time the slogans were renting the air at Margao. Speaker after speaker addressed the crowd. The rally was without prior permission. The suppressed voice was bursting with force and vigour. Processions were moving on all sides. One big procession marched to the police station. The Administration was panicky. The Police Commandant foolishly asked Dr. Lohia to address and persuade the menacing crowd to return home. Dr. Lohia agreed and made full use of the unexpected opportunity and continued his incomplete address. Persuation he did do but to continue the struggle with greater impetus and vigour. The police charged the demonstrators. There were beatings and brutalities. By night-fall some twelve persons were arrested including the brave girl—Kumari Vatsala Kirtane.

Dr. T.B. Cunha and other leaders were inspiring the people to conduct the struggle reientlessly. The news of 18th June spread like wild fire throughout Goa. Hundreds of active workers proceeded to various places with the message of 18th June. The symbolical defiance cut right through the Charter of Fascist International of suppression of most elementary human rights.

We are reproducing here some extracts from the speech15

^{15.} Dr. Rammanohar Lohia: Action in Goa, (1947) Pp. 1-8

of Dr. Lohia which was to be addressed on 18th June and which remained undelivered.

"I came to Goa with no intention beyond getting to know the land and its people. I had heard about you and counted some of you as my friends. I had also known how an alien rule had tried to tempt and force you into a soulless culture and heard that you were deprived of your civil liberties. But my surprise was great beyond measure when I actually saw under what kind of rule you lived.

"People have come to me and told me their tales of sorrow, sometimes tinged with anger at the helplessness to which Portuguese have reduced your population. You cannot form organisations. Not to talk of political organisations like the Indian National Congress, even organisations, for study or sport, or village uplift, require previous sanction of the Government and must obviously work under police watch. You cannot hold meetings. Not to talk of political meetings, even social and private gatherings, require permission and come in for police inquiry. You cannot issue publications. The Censors make your newspapers dul and uninstructive and these tell you almost nothing about the country of which you form a part. For 18 long years you have lived under such laws......

"It is indeed true that Portuguese rule will not be worth a guesswork of a day's purchase, once British rule is ended. That again can be no consolation to anybody. Only they can use freedom who have wrested it, who have suffered the sorrows and felt the joy whilst striving for it. Still I am not asking you today to overthrow Portuguese rule that will come in its own time. This meeting is held with a very limited purpose. It is an invitation to you to seek and act as if these laws did not exist. Even if we cannot at once attain our freedom we must at least think and speak of freedom, and build up the strength of an organization to strive for it. The Republic of Portugal is guilty of infamy of ruling over an alien people; will it add to this infamy by seeking to perpetuate barbaric laws of thought control? These laws must go and go they will soon, for an awakening people cannot be suppressed in

their effort at self-expression. It is no argument to say that Portugal itself has few civil liberties.

"Gomantak is a part of Hindustan and that Portugal rules over it as Britain over the rest of the country, is an accident and a bad dream and will pass. The United State of Hindustan will come. Our people are creating it. We have come into the last stages of creation. Negotiations between our leaders and British leaders are just an incident. Our hopes and fears are not connected with these. Our hope is the strength of the people, which is ever pilling up and which will create the state, no matter what trials we may yet have to face. Meanwhile, people of Gomantak, think freely, speak freely, write freely and act to build up organised strength".

The main towns of Goa observed complete hartal on 19th June. While Dr. Lohia was being externed on the Goa borders in the evening, mass rallies and demonstrations were taking place at Margao and Panjim. The fascist gendarmerie resorted to severe lathi-charge. Even teenage girls were not spared. Kumari Sashi Bandodkar and Kumari Ratan Khaunte were assaulted and beaten.

A number of persons, including Evagrio George, Viswanath Lavande, Venkatesh Verenkar, Nilkant Karapurkar, Tiru Vaidya, Das Borkar, J. M. Shah, S. A. Manpat, Laximikant Bhembre and Dr. Mayenkar had been arrested and subsequently released. 16

On 20th June, Dr. T.B. Cunha was the main speaker at a huge rally at Margao on the same maidan which was by then named as "Lohia Maidan". He condemned the Portuguese inhuman brutalities and called upon the people to defy the bans and demanded full rights of freedom of speech, freedom of thought and freedom of association. He held the Portuguese responsible for the food crisis and the economic ruin of Goa.

On 21st June there was a procession and a public meeting again at Margao. The speakers were Purshottam Kakodkar, Enio Pimenta, Upendra Talaulikar and Umabai Shirali.

On 22nd June a huge demonstration was organised at

^{16.} Dr. Juliao Menezes: Goa's Freedom Struggle. (1947) Pp. 56-57.

Vasco da Gama. The procession starting from the Jai Hind Maidan (now known as Tilak Ground) marched through the main road and again gathered on the same maidan. Twice the processionists were assaulted and mercilessly beaten by negro troops. The rally was addressed by several speakers, including the late D. A. Deshpande.¹⁷

A public meeting was also held at Ponda on 22nd June, which was addressed among others by Laxmanrao Sardessai, Dr. Sukhtankar and Evagrio George.

Public meetings, demonstrations and rallies were organised practically every day somewhere or the other. On 30th June a huge rally was organised at Margao which was to be addressed by Bertha de Menezes Braganza. Full preparations were made by the Authorities. Police and armed military were in full force. Bertha Braganza greeted by shouting "Jai Hind!" and "Inquilab Zindabad!". Armed soldiers practically surrounded her and Dr. T. B. Cunha who was assaulted with riffle-butts by soldiers. Both of them were put in a car and whisked away and left on a roadside at Chandor. The crowd which refused to disperse was lathicharged and a number of persons were assaulted.

We are reproducing some extracts from the undelivered speech 18 of Bertha Braganza:

"... The present Civil Disobedience Movement is like a a whiff of fresh air blowing into a dark suffocating dungeon which is just what our contry has been reduced to during all these centuries of imperialist oppression and exploitation.

"With the end of the war and the defeat of fascism, all over the world new rules and regulations are being framed to assure every individual and people of being able to live in peace and freedom. But here in Goa we still remain chained and

Gerald Pereira: The Truth About Goan Political Conference (1950)
 P. 3.

gagged by an arbitrary regime, unable to make our voices hear, unable to act. . .

"As a member of the Goan Youth League, I particularly appeal to the youth of my land not to allow this Civil Disobedience movement to weaken and to fearlessly carry it on till we attain our goal of getting back our rights, first and foremost the elementary civil liberties that have been denied to us: Freedom of the press, of speech, of association and conscience, and a representative government responsible to a freely elected body. With these attained we shall have paved our way towards that final goal of complete freedom from all foreign yoke and of a free Goa in a free India...

"Our time for resignation, servility and humility is over. Let us go forward with perseverance, with courage and confidence in ourselves till we make our hopes a certainty."

Defiance of the fascist laws with the demand for civil liberties continued unabated. Meetings and rallies took place practically throughout Goa in the course of over six months. The virus of defiance had extended to Mapusa, Bicholim, Mardol, Quepem, Cuncolim, Sanvordem, Kakoda, Carmona, Zambaulim, Chandor and a number of other places.

Thousands of young men and women actively participated in the struggle which they considered very sacred to them. Like stars on the moon-lit sky, they shone on the political horizon of Goa—the not-to-be-forgotten—heroes and heroines armed with patriotic fervour—Vincent Cunha, Anand Kurade, Cristovam Furtado, Carlos Pires, Roque Menezes, Smt. Shah, N. Sukerkar, Gopinath Kurade, Shrikant Sahukar, Prabhakar Dalal, Mukund Ghanekar, Shiva Dakerkar. Kumari Lalita Kantak, Kumari Vithal Hedge, Smt. Krishnabai Hedge, V. B. Naik, Krishna Lotlikar, Premlata Zambaulikar, Baskar Bandare, Bala Kakodkar, Raghuvir Kakodkar, Gopal Naik, Tata Mahar, Dula Mahar, Vaidya, Kumari Narayan Shettye, Haldankar, Babla Singbal, Mahadev Bhir, Bhende, Vassant Velinkar, Pandurang Kamat, Manohar Cuncolienkar, Anant Kolvalkar, Baburao Raikar, Faku Pokle, Frank Andrade, Narayan Palekar, Shamrao Modkoikar, Mario

Quoted by Dr. Juliao Menezes: Goa's Freedom Struggle (1947)
 Pp. 62-66.

Rodrigues, Arsenio Jacques, Keshav Talaulikar, Tomazinho Dias, Emiterio Pais, Noel de Souza, Tertuliano Renato de Silva, Shivram Naik, Ramkrishna Pendo, Prabhakar Arolkar, Prabhakar Narvenkar, Laxman Bala Mothe, Sagun Shivram Naik, Froilano Machado, Krishna Kamat, Purshottam Mainkar, Caetano D'Souza, Kanta Naik and hundreds of countless others.

We were part of this movement, we actively participated in it and we saw history being made by these forces which were progressive in character and which really shook the Portuguese Colonial Empire.

Unfortunately, the Indian National Movement as represented by the Indian National Congress looked at this movement with disfavour, though in the beginning Mahatma Gandhi uttered some words of encouragement. Gandhiji¹⁹, commenting from New Delhi on 26th June 1946, stated.

"It would appear from newspaper reports that Dr Lohia went to Goa at the invitation of Goans and was served with an order to refrain from making speeches. According to Dr. Lohia's statement, for 18 years now, the people of Goa have been robbed of the right to hold meetings and form organisations. Naturally he defied the order. He has thereby rendered a service to the cause of civil liberty and especially to the Goans. The little Portuguese Settlement which merely exists on the sufferance of the British Government can ill afford to ape its bad manners. In Free India, Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free State. The present Portuguese Government will no longer be able to rely upon the protection of British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants of Goa against their will. I would venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognise the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with its inhabitants rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British Government.

"To the inhabitants of Goa I will say that they should shed

fear of the Portuguese Government as the people of other parts of India have shed fear of the mighty British Government and assert their fundamental right to civil liberty and all it means. The differences of religion among the inhabitants of Goa should be no bar to common civil life. Religion is for each individual, himself or herself, to live. It should never become a bone of contention or quarrel between religious sects."

The Governor General of Goa, Dr. lose Bossa, took no time in writing to Gandhiji. He eulogised the civilizing missions of the Portuguese and their stay in Goa for philanthropic purposes. Dr. Bossa's letter on 18th July to Gandhiji was really to find out what was the attitude of the Indian National Leadership towards the Goan Civil Liberties Movement. He wanted to make quite sure. Didn't he personally motored himself from his palace to the Hall at Panjim where Dr. Lohia was addressing the preparatory meeting on 16th June to see whether really a meeting was being held without prior permission? It is said that the Portuguese Governor-General even rushed to Ponda to his palmist to find out whether that was the beginning of the collapse of the Portuguese Colonial Empire.

Gandhiji20 replied to Dr. Bossa on 2nd August:

"It was kind of you to write to me in reply to what I had written in 'Harijan' about Goa affairs. I suppose you know that I have visited Mosambique, Delagoa and Inhambane. I did not notice there any Government for philanthropic purposes. Indeed I was astonished to see the distinction that the Government made between Indians and the Portuguese and between the Africans and themselves. Nor does the history of the Portuguese Settlement in India prove the claim set forth by you. Indeed, what I see and know of the condition of things in Goa, is hardly edifying. That the Indians in Goa have been speechless is proof, not of the innocence or the philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government but of the rule of terror. You will forgive me for not subscribing to your statement that there is full liberty in Goa and that the agitation is confined only to a few malcontents.

^{19.} Harijan, dated 30th June, 1946.

^{20.} Harijan, dated 11th August, 1946.

"Every account, received by me personally and seen in the papers here in this part of India. confirms the contrary view. I suopose, the report of the sentence by your Court Martial of eight years on Dr. Braganza and his contemplated exile to a far off Portuguese Settlement, is by itself a striking corroboration of the fact, that civil liberty is a rare article in Goa. Why should a law-abiding citizen like Dr. Braganza be considered so dangerous as to be singled out for exile?

"Though the politics of Dr.Lohia probably differ from mine, he has commanded my admiration for his having gone to Goa and put his finger on its black spot. Inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for Independence, until much greater India has regained it. But no person or group can thus remain without civil liberty without losing self-respect. He has lighted a torch which the inhabitants of Goa cannot, except at their peril, allow to be extinguished. Both you and inhabitants of Goa should feel thankful to the Doctor for lighting that torch. Therefore, your description of him as "stranger" would excite laughter, if it was not so tragic. Surely the truth is that the Portuguese coming from Portugal are strangers, whether they come as philanthropers or as governors, exploiting the so-called weaker races of the earth.

"You have talked of the abolition of caste distinctions. What I see has happened is that not only no caste distinction has been abolished but at least one more caste, far more terrible than the system "caste" has been added by the Portuguese rulers.

"I, therefore, hope that you will revise your views on philanthropy, civil liberty and caste distinctions, withdraw all the African police, declare yourself whole-heartedly for civil liberty and if possible, even let the inhabitants of Goa frame their own government, and invite from Greater India more experienced Indians to assist the inhabitants and even you in framing such Government."

Out of this Movement was born a new organisation—National Congress (Goa) which was to lead and conduct the struggle. The 18th June Movement was an unprecedented upsurge of the Goan people thought it had practically no organizational form.

There were causes for the Portuguese to get panicky and they did loose balance. On 12th July, Dr. T. B. Cunha was arrested at the Margao Railway Station and taken to an unknown destination only to be located later on in the fort of Aguada which became famous later on as the Bastille of Goa. On 24th July he was practically charged for sedition before the Regional Military Court "for attacking the Portuguese Government and insolently criticizing the rule of Salazar and Goa Regime for being responsible for food crisis and black-market operation in Goa, for addressing the people in the meeting that Goa would be independent shortly, and for instigating the security of the state."

Dr. Cunha in his defence modestly stated that he was not the leader of the movement which was an spontaneous upsurge arising due to the economic condition prevailing in Goa. He then declared that there was no need of witnesses to judge him as he never made a secret of his political convictions which he had made amply clear in his articles and pamphlets.

Dr. Cunha was the first to be court-martialled and was sentenced to 8 years of imprisonment. He was taken back to Aguada Fort and thereafter deported to Portugal and incarcerated in that notorious Fortress of Peniche.

A number of defiant active workers were arrested and tried and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Then came the trials of Purshottam Kakodkar, Laxmikant Bhembre, Dr. Rama Hegde and Dr. Jose Inacio de Loyola. The sentences ranged from 4 to 9 years and all four of them were similarly deported to Portugal to be incarcerated in the Fortress of Peniche.

Satyagraha in different forms continued. Recruiting centres were established at Khanapur and Belgaum. Batches after batches poured into Goa. George Vaz was selected as the President of the First Fighting Satyagraha Committee. He actually accompanied Dr. Lohia who entered Goa second time. It was in September 1946 that George Vaz defied the ban at Sanquelim. After being detained for 10 days, he was externed from Goa on

^{21.} Dr. Juliao Menezes: Goa's Freedom Struggle (1947), Pp. 97-99.

the grounds that he was a British Indian subject. But George Vaz again entered in November. He was arrested at Mapusa and was detained for 4 days and then again externed to the borders. But this would not deter George Vaz. He again entered Goa and started his work. The Portuguese located him at Betim and he was court-martialled before the Military Tribunal and sentence for 6 months imprisonment.

Evagrio George, who actively participated in the movement was selected as the President of Third Fighting Satyagraha Committee. When he offered satyagraha at Cuncolim he was arrested and sentenced to 15 days imprisonment. For some time thereafter, he remained at Belgaum being in charge of office of National Congress (Goa).²² On the eve of Indian Independence on 15th August 1947, he was again arrested and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment.

Then came the still monstrous sentences and harsher punishments. Seven patriots—P. P. Shirodkar, Dr. Vinayak Mayenkar, Guilherme Tiklo, N. Karapurkar, Jaywant Kunde, Mukund Dankonkar, and Narayan Naik were tried and given long-term sentences ranging up to 28 years and deported to Ango'a....While the late D.A. Deshpande was sentenced to 28 years imprisonment and sent to Portugal, Divakar Kakodkar was deported to Cabo Verde Islands only by a Ministerial Order. The illegal arrests and lawless trials continued:..

Dr. Lohia entered Goa, as promised, second time in September 1946. He was arrested at the Collem Railway Station itself without committing any breach of law or offence even as understood by the Portuguese. He was kept in solitary confinement and incommunicable.²³ Dr. Lohia charged the Portuguese Government for illegal detention and demanded apology and damages. There was by this time Provisional Government in New Delhi headed by Pandit Nehru. Messages were passed through diplomatic channels, Dr. Lohia was released and the British

The 18th June Movement, which no doubt was a great Movement, had its own weaknesses. Fascism had taken firm grip of the entire structure in Goa, and the cultural degradation and the denationalization had its own effects. The educational institutions, the controlled press, Church pulpits, the Judiciary and the entire administration were so oriented to glorify the fascist "Estado Novo".

The Concordata of 1940, a treaty signed between Portugal and Vatican instructs the Catholic Church" to see that in the teaching of special subjects as history the legitimate Portuguese patriotic sentiment be taken into consideration....."

O Heraldo, the Portuguese language daily (which supported the Portuguese Regime till 18th December, 1961) campaigned: "........ and having features different from other territories and our neighbours, we have to try to maintain its integrity and preserve its spiritual patrimony which resulted from our integration for centuries, in the ideals which the Portuguese conquest implanted over here".

Dom Jose da Costa Nunes, the Patriarch of Goa²⁵, (himself a Portuguese) formulated his Manifesto as follows:

".......... You (Goans) must bear in mind that if Portugal leaves India it will represent a terrible disaster to the catholics of Goa. Under the Portuguese domination they are worth something in their country; without it their plight will be sorry one.

"The priests in the Orient must safeguard, at all cost, the historic rights of Portugal whose epic of miracle performed by our missionaries, even now fills us with wonder. Goa is the most stupendous example of our colonising genius: by spreading the Faith we confirm and strenghten the (Portuguese) empire.

^{22.} Dr. Juliao Menezes: Goa's Freedom Struggle (1947), Pp. 99-101.

^{23.} Dr. Rammanohar Lohia: Action in Goa (1947), 2. 27.

^{24.} Dr. Juliao Menezes: Goa's Freedom Struggle (1947), Pp. 78-79.

^{25.} Quoted by Dr. Juliao Menezes: Goa's Freedom Struggle (1947) Pp. 32-33.

" ... I can and I must inculcate in its (Goa's) inhabitants love for Portugal and condemn the imbecility of its incorporation into Greater India.

"In short: whilst this is Portuguese territory, I have a right to defend the national flag and condemn any agitation against the country.

"And I do it under the shadow of the Gospel and on account of instructions and imposition from Rome, sound reasongood sense and in respect to wishes of the majority of the Goan people".

Such was the atmosphere created deliberately by the counter-revolutionary and obscurantist forces.

Dr. Lohia had shown his desire to pay a casual visit to Goa to his friend and colleague Dr. Juliao Menezes. Accordingly, Dr. Menezes came ahead from Bombay on his annual visit and Dr. Lohia came on 10th June 1946²⁶, Dr. Lohia himself has stated²⁷: I came to Goa without plan or purpose but with an expectancy about the land and its people...". There were a number of visitors and Dr. Lohia had made up his mind to launch the struggle, though a number of leaders wanted more time for planning and organisation. Even though Dr. T. B. Cunha and others had done tremendous spade work in the field, still the movement had to depend largely on spontaneity.

In the thick of the movement, Dr. Lohia came under all sorts of pulls and pressures. He fell a prey to the advice of his so-called friends that the movement should be strictly conducted by Goans, thereby unconsciously subscribing to the theory that Goans were different from Indians. "The National Congress of Goa was striving to do its best without material help from outside". He prematurely withdrew the more experienced cadres who had entered from the border areas and who had actively participated against British Imperialism. In the midst, Gandhiji

intervened²⁸: ". The little Portuguese Settlement which merely exists on the sufferance of the British Government can ill afford to ape its bad manners. In Free India, Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free State. The present Portuguese Government will no longer be able to rely upon the protection of British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants of Goa against their will..."

The provisional Government had already been established in New Delhi and the Britishers were making their final preparations to quit India by handing over power to the Indian big bourgeoisie. Hence, a section of the opportunist petty-bourgeoisie and merchants entered the arena to take over the reins of the leadership of the Movement, really thinking that Goa would be liberated "without a shot being fired". Dr. Lohia 29 himself created ideological confusion in the freedom movement after his second deportation by the Portuguese. "We work to bring Goa or Pondicherry, back into the main current of national life. As we struggle to destroy the atrocious laws of the Portuguese and French, we also end the alien influence over them of the Indo-Russians to which they have, through the Communists of France and Portugal, been victims. We have to keep an eye on all alien holds in the country, including ideological holds. Meanwhile, Goa must have its civic rights. The struggle must sharpen to achieve early victory".

The National Congress (Goa) which was organisationally weak was captured by vested interests and emigre' leadership. They refused to chalk out a concrete programme in order to draw the working class and the peasant masses in the movement. In fact, the landlord-merchant class disrupted the organisation while most of the militant workers were facing terror and arrest deep inside Goa. An immediate transfer of power was expected by them in Goa and in this disruption they were helped and financed by a section of the India National Congress. In disillusionment, some

^{26.} Dr. Juliao Menezes: Goa's Freedom Struggle (1947), P. 44.

^{27.} Dr. Rammanohar Lohia: Action in Goa, P. 8.

^{28.} Harijan, dated 30th June, 1946.

^{29,} Action in Goa (1947), 16.

young workers resorted to terroristic methods as a means of resistance. Then followed a long period of frustration, demoralisation and inaction,

In order to revive the struggle and to re-organise the democratic forces, young militant and revolutionary workers formed the Goan People's Party. The G. P. P. gave clarion call to the people to carry forward the militant struggle under new conditions in new form. A new Programme was adopted.

.. And Dr. Lohia, who in his inspiring message through his Open Letter to Goans in 1946, had declared³⁰: "Look not to Delhi nor to U.N.O. for your deliverance; your freedom lies in you. Five lakhs of full democrats can shake the Portuguese into submission", lamented in 1953: "I appeal to His Holiness the Pope, to use his good influence and press upon the Rulers of Portugal to grant Civil Liberties to Goa..."³¹.

Re-assessing the situation, we warned32: "Under the circumstances, it will be suicidal to delay any more the Goan Question. The GOI, under the very first principle of PANCH-SHILA viz. "Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty", must strike hard at the Portuguese Regime. Freedom is never given; it is won by struggle and a hard struggle. No Imperialist, and more so a fascist, will ever yield to petitions, prayers and diplomatic notes. The Portuguese Government has no moral or legal right to stay in Goa. The Salazar hordes will not move, they are only to be kicked out. Goa is an integral part of the Indian Republic and no amout of legal and constitutional jugglery on the part of Salazar or Dulles can make it a province of Portugal. Let India not shirk its responsibility but take Police Action or any step warranted by the necessity. GOI can even send armed volunteers to Goa as was done by People's China in the Korean War against the American invaders. Such an action will never provoke a war nor invite the Yankee intervention in Goa. An ordinary domestic problem can be solved in

30. Action in Goa (1947), P. 71.

a simple way, without much fuss. If GOI feels shy, then let facilities be given to Goans to arm themselves and liberate our Motherland from the foreign yoke. The present time is the appropriate one for any such action, as the whole Imperialist Combine stands discredited and defeated politically, economically, diplomatically and militarily on all fronts of the world. The earlier Pandit Nehru decides to solve Goa problem the better it is for Goans and Indians and for the establishment of Peace in the World, by doing away with one dangerous ulcer from the face of the world. The Goan Question is overdelayed. It must be solved now."

The Portuguese Government in order to strengthen its position encouraged the mining operations mainly with foreign collaboration and iron ore started to be exported extensively. A mercantile class especially involved in rackets of smuggling grew overnight in addition to the growth of big bourgeoisie. It was under these conditions in 1953 that Sri. V. D. Chowgule, the Managing Director of Chowgule & Co. Ltd., stating that while he could cheerfully overcome any working difficulties called upon the Governor-General of Goa, General Paulo Bernardo Guedes, after the latter inaugurated the first mechanised iron ore mine at Sirigao: "Your Excellency has to see that no unhealthy situation arises in this country from without, and any foreign forces calculated to challenge our efforts shall have to be resisted with all force..."33.

On 21st July 1954, Dadra was liberated by the United Front of Goans which gave a new life to the liberation movement. The first week of August gave still more surprises to the world. Nagar-Haveli, the Portuguese enclave covering some 148 square miles with over 40,000 population, was liberated by the Goan People's Party and the Azad Gomantak Dal. However, disruption was caused by Viswanath Lawande and Prabakar Sinari of the A.G.D. on the instructions of Morarji Desai who was then the Chief Minister of the united Bombay State.

On 15th August (1954) there was defiance of the fascist laws and satyagraha in various parts of Goa. Hundreds of young people faced the repression and tortures and courted arrest

^{31.} Goan Age (Monthly Magazine), 195, P. 25.

^{32.} The Goan Question Reconsidered Pp. 19-20.

^{33.} Supplement to the Times of India (Bombay), 3rd November 1953 (Inauguration of Chowgule & Co.'s Sirigao Mines).

mainly under the leadership of National Congress (Goa)... Dr. Pundolik Gaitonde, Mohan Ranade and Dr. Telo Mascarenhas had been deported to Portugal...

On 15th August (1955) mass satyagraha was launched by Goans and Indians under the auspices of Goa Vimochan Samiti and Goan political organisations. The united Communist Party of India played a prominent role in organising this struggle and mobilising the masses. The Portuguese brutally shot dead 25 satyagrahis...

Between June 1954 and December 1955 more than 2500 Goans had been arrested, imprisoned or detained, while more than 300 had been sentenced in addition to countless cases of having been beaten or flogged...

The Portuguese Communist Party, true to its international traditions together with other democratic and anti-fascist forces, fully supported the Goa's struggle for freedom...

The National Campaign Committee led by the democratic forces in the country and specially the Communist Party, mobilised the entire country and the Afro-Asian world for full-fledged positive action in Goa...

In vain, Pandit Nehru waited for Her Majesty's Government in U. K. to help him to persuade the Portuguese, their age-old allies to quit Goa peacefully. In vain, Pandit Nehru expected Imperialist U. S. Government to put some sense into her little NATO partner to leave Goa honourably. In vain, Nehru tried for 13 long years to liquidate fascism in Goa without firing a shot. Finally, it was left to Krishna Menon to act under mass pressure... and he acted quickly... in spite of last minute efforts to prevent by the yankees through their Ambassador in New Delhi.

...It was on 19th December, 1961, after being assured full support by the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries and in spite of stiff opposition from the Anglo-American Imperialist Bloc, the Government of India marched the Indian armed forces in Goa, Daman and Diu, and firing umpteen shots on all sides, liquidated the last remnants of foreign colonial rule on the soil of India.

8. POST LIBERATION GOA

On December 19, 1961, the Portuguese Fascist Regime in Goa, Daman and Diu was liquidated. The Goan people hailed the liberation of Goa and its integration with the Indian Union as a step towards freedom and democracy. During the Portuguese Rule, there were no civil liberties, there was no freedom of speech or expression. No trade unions could be formed nor a political party could be organised. A strict consorship had been imposed. People expected, the moment the Portuguese quit Goa, all their problems would be solved.

The Marmagoa Dockers were the first to assert their right to organise. On 11th—12th January 1962, the Dockers launched a successful forty-eight hour indefinite strike paralysing the entire loading and unloading operations in the Port against the dismissal of some 54 workers. Out of the struggle was born the Marmagoa Port, Dock & Transport Workers' Union, now known as the Marmagoa Waterfront Workers' Union (CITU), the first trade union in Goa.

In 1962 and 1963 various other organisations at social, trade union and political level came on the scene. But the illusions of the people that with the extention of the Indian Constitution to Goa all their problems would be solved were shattered to pieces. The mine-owners and exporters i.e, the mercantile bourgeoisie who were in collusion with the foreign monopoly capitalists refused to reconcile with the liquidation of the Portuguese Rule. They had expected the Anglo-Americans to support Salazar to stage a come-back. Anti-India plots and conspiracies were hatched, financed by a section of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

Simultaneously, the economic conditions seriouly deteriorated. Unemployment increased; the prices of all comodities shot up steeply. The foreign goods disappeared overnight. The Government of India imposed a semi-military rule to suppress the struggle of the people.

During the years 1963 and 1964 powerful working class

struggles were led under the leadership of the Red Flag. Food agitation was also conducted. A huge effigy of "Kala-Bazarwa-ila" was burnt in a rally at Vasco. Struggle for democratic rights was launched under the joint front of democratic forces. In May-June 1963 the Marmagoa Dockers conducted a powerful "Illegal Strike" and openly defied the hated "Defence of India Rules" and won a great victory. The Mine-Owners, Exporters and the Zamindars became panicky. They demanded of the Government stern measures against the revolutionary forces. Hundreds of workers were arrested under D.I.R. on simple pretext. A number of T. U. leaders including George Vaz, Ibrahim Suleman, S. V. Moghe, Gajanan Patil and others were arrested more than once. I, myself was arrested and detained under D.I.R. five times, each time the detention period lasting from a minimum of forty-eight hours to a maximum of three months.

The bourgeois-landlord forces were not satisfied with the measures taken by the Congress administration. Hence, they made a bold bid to foster and encourage communal, linguistic, regional and casteist forces. On the eve of the first general elections in December 1963, Goa was fully contaminated with the virus of Hindu-Christian communalism. The progressive forces which contested the election on the platform of "Frente Popular" suffered a setback though some 5000 votes were obtained. The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party captured power by winning 16 seats while the United Goans Party gained 12 seats and led the Opposition.

Ideological differences among the comrades reflected in their approach to the two main bourgeois parties. While a section urging for the immediate merger of Goa with Maharashtra stood for an alliance with the M. G. Party, another group advocated for full fledged statehood, like any other state. Chauvinism and tailling behind the bourgeoisie did great harm to the cause of the progressive movement. The party failed to take its class position.

The economic conditions in Goa by this time seriously deteriorated. The workers conducted struggles for more D. A. and against fall in real wages; the munddkars (home-stead-tenants)

demanded protection against eviction from their houses by the landlords; the poor peasants and agricultural labourers agitated for land; there was general agitation for more rations (rice) and sugar and also against price-increase in essential commodities. Our party played a prominent role in guiding these struggles and helping the people in resisting the attacks, made on their wages and their rights.

The revisionist group led by Narayan Desai which was joined by now by Divakar Kakodkar (who made a round-about turn from extreme left to extreme right) brought all sorts of obstacles in conducting the mass struggles. In line with their All-India policy of tailing behind the bourgeoisie, they brought forward a thesis that the ruling Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party was itself a socialist party; that the C.P.I. should be freezed (if not dissolved); that all party members should join the M.G. Party; and that such a course would lead to a peaceful capture of power in Goa.

In January-February 1967 there was general repudiation of revisionist leadership in Goa. The rank and file party members demanded stern action against the local revisionists and total break with the revisionist C.P.I. But the revisionist group refused to cooperate in convening a conference. Accordingly, all the four District units of the Party requisitioned a full fledged convention. In that convention which took place on 16th April 1967 an unanimous decision was taken to dissociate from the revisionist C.P.I. and join the C.P.I. (M).

The Party is guiding its members working in trade unions not to be satisfied in leading struggles in defence of economic interests alone but to organise a militant and disciplined working class with revolutionary socialist consciousness. The Party is conscious that "the trade union movement should be so conducted that it not only unites the entire working class in the economic struggle but helps the political unification of the class under the banner of the Marxist-Leninist Party" (Tasks on Trade Union Front).

The kisan movement as such is very weak. Political oppression and economic exploitation of the peasants by the big bhatt-

kars (zamindars) in collusion with the Government is going on in full swing. The Agricultural Tenancy Act (1965) while attempting to protect the agricultural tenant and granting him the right to keep five-sixths of the produce, actually throws heavy burdens on him and gives him very little protection. The slogan "land to the tiller" is nowhere in sight. Similarly, the munddkar (home-stead-tenant) is still left to the mercy of the landlord under the old "Lei do Mundcarato" enacted by the Portuguese. The much published Munddkar Bill has yet to see the light of the day.

The Government has miserably failed to solve the basic problems of the people. Even though nearly a decade has elapsed since liberation, the land problem remains as before, as the Government is maintaining the feudal-set-up intact. Even though the prices of essential commodities and important articles of life have risen steeply, the Government failed to hold back the price-line. Corruption, nepotism and black-marketting are rampant. In the educational and industrial fields too, the Government's record is very poor. In fact, a charge-sheet against the Bandodkar Ministry for corruption has been suppressed.

The ruling Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party, the opposition United Goans Party and the Congress Party—all three are bourgeois-landlord parties representing and defending the interests of the mine-owners, big landlords and other vested interests. The people have nothing to choose among them. The real alternative will have to be provided by the democratic forces under the leadership of the working class.

The party has taken serious note of the analysis in the Programme that "religious obscurantism, comunalism and casteism as well as bourgeois nationalism are all exploited by the reactionary vested interests to disrupt and retard the growth of the democratic movement of our people." The Party in Goa will fight against these tendencies and in close alliance with other democratic forces will actively work to fulfil the Party's main tasks of achieving People's Democracy so as to put our great country, India on the road to socialism ³⁴.

Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India has already won a massive victory at the recent Lok-Sabha polls. The policy pronouncements made by her and her coleagues after the elections indicate that the ruling Congress Party is not going to make any basic changes. On the contrary, ferocious attacks are being made on the working people.

The hated Preventive Detention Act which had been used indiscriminately in the course of last twenty years against popular movements and first and foremost against the Communists, had to be allowed to be lapsed last year because the Congres Party had not the necessary majority.

Now that the Congress Party has the absolute majority, thanks to Right Communists, P.S.P. and others, the P.D. Act has been brought back only under a new name in order to suppress the democratic forces.

There is a serious threat to democratic liberties and popular movements. The Ruling Congress Party under the leadership of Indira Gandhi is steadily encouraging semi-fascism in the country.

We are reproducing here some excerpts from the booklet "Cry Halt To This Reign Of Terror" in West Bengal on the semi-fascist conditions by Comrade Jyoti Basu:

"The State's police force is sixty thousand strong, in addition there are fifty thousand para-military forces like the CRP, Border Security Force, etc., and more than fifty thousand of the army and these near-two-lakh armed thugs have been let loose on the people of West Bengal to commit murder and mayhem. The CRP and army units have been posted all over the State, not only in district and sub-divisional towns but in all important centres even below that level. Regular combing operations by the

^{34.} From the Report adopted at the Special Convention convened by the Goa State Committee of the C.P.I. (M) on 31st March, 1968,

police and the CRP with the help of the army are being organised in mahala after mahala in the towns, in village after village in the rural areas. Indiscriminate arrests, mass torture, selective killings have become the order of the day. More than twenty thousand persons have already been arrested of whom 750 are still in custody, refused bail, and another one lakh have warrants of arrests pending against them. From the date of the imposition of President's Rule on the State, March 18, 1970, to the end of December, 149 CPI (M) workers and supporters had been killed, by the CRP and police and by anti-social elements organised by the Congress and its allies, the number rose to 219 on the eve of polling day and as this is being written, it has already crossed the 250 mark. In addition are many others who have been killed in this same period.

"Nothing has happened in the villages and towns to attract this fury of the "guardians of law and order". These wanton arrests are being made, this beating, torture and maiming is going on and innocent people are being killed like mad dogs only because the Congress and the landlords, the mineowners and other employers and the gangster elements organised by them need these operations to terrorise the people, to suppress the working class, peasant, women's, student, youth and general democratic movement and struggles, and specially to crush the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which stands in the forefront of these movements and struggles. It is no ordinary repression that West Bengal is witnessing today, but a reign of semi-fascistic terror, a systematic attempt to physically liquidate the leaders and cadres of the CPI (M) and the mass movements...

"Why has this reign of semi-fascistic terror been imposed on the people of West Bengal and which are the chosen instruments of reaction in its diabolical plans against the democratic movement?

"As stated earlier the rout of the Congress in the 1969 mid-term elections and the installation of the second U. F. Government had helped the workers, peasants and other toiling people to unleash powerful mass struggles and win important gains. The landed interests, Indian and foreign monopolists, the Con-

gress rulers at New Delhi were all furious. And that is when the conspiracy began. Finding the Government machinery not at their beck and call, finding that the Congress was no longer strong enough to help them, they tried to utilise the flags of some of the parties of the U. F. itself and these parties agreed to oblige. This was the beginning of their degeneration which ultimately made them appendages of the ruling Congress party.

"The political shelter given by these parties to the landlords and capitalists encouraged them to organise goonda attacks on peasants and workers and precipitate clashes. This is the real story behind the so-called inter-party clashes over which a lot of noise was raised at that time. The CPI(M) was falsely charged with responsibility for these clashes—the beginning of the theme of the CPI(M)'s "politics of violence". Facts, however, show that CPI(M) was not only not responsible for these clashes but was in fact the victim in many of them.

"The expectation of the ruling Congress and their agents of winning a victory by this method, was belied. Though our Party and the U.L F. were prevented from obtaining an absolute majority by a few seats, we emerged as the single biggest Party and Front with 123 seats out of 277 and obtaining 35 per cent of the votes polled. We were far ahead of the ruling Congress which could secure only 104 seats and 28 per cent of votes. The party of the arch-traitor Ajoy Mukherjee was practically thrown into the dustbin of history with only five seats. The Right Communists and the Forward Bloc who played the most heinous game in the anti-Marxist campaign were cut to size with only 13 and 3 seats respectively out of which 4 and 2 seats they could get only with direct Congress support. The policy of anti-Communism under the garb of left phrases was rejected by the people. The only party to gain by the treachery of the Right Communists and their friends was the ruling Congress. But it, too, was far behind the Congress position of 1967 in terms of seats and that of both 1967 and 1969 in terms of votes. In the contest of the pro-ruling Congress sweep in most of the States, it was a big defeat for the Ruling Congress.

"The failure of the Congress rulers to defeat us and prevent us from being the single biggest party made them far more des-

perate. Hence they decided to intensify the semi-fascistic multi--pronged attacks after the elections. West Bengal is virtually being ruled by force with the support of the army...

"What is thus going on in West Bengal and what is planned for the immediate future is no ordinary repression. It is nothing short of a desperate semi-fascistic plan to destroy democracy and to liquidate the democratic movement and its cadres. Even before the elections, some of the central Congress leaders were reported to have been toying with the idea of creating a miniature Indonesia in West Bengal. They know that the pro-ruling Congress sweep as seen in the recent elections in our country except in the three States, has been created by false promises and tall talk about "removing poverty." They know that their bourgeois-landlord policy will not not be changed in any significant way. Hence the illusion created among the people will not last long and the people in many States will be drawn into mass struggles in a big way. In that condition, the strong mass movement of West Bengal will have a tremendous impact on the struggles all over India. They want to crush the people of West Bengal into submission by brute force, before that time. Hence standing on the crest of the present pro-ruling Congress sweep the reactionary ruling circles have thought it opportune to translate their dream of initiating a bloodbath into reality.

"The People of our country cannot allow this criminal plan to succeed. It will mean an end of democracy and establishment of a military autocratic rule under the garb of parliamentary forms. Every decent person irrespective of his or her political affiliation who loves democracy must realise the danger and raise his or her voice of protest. The workers, peasants and other toiling people will surely note that the criminal plan of the Congress rulers does not mean a danger to West Bengal alone, but to the people, their movements and struggles in the whole country..."

POSI-SCRIPI

The reactionary and communal forces are coming together in order to continue the bourgeois-landlord rule. Indira Gandhi who allegedly fought against the Syndicate-Jan Sangh reactionary forces in the last Lok-Sabha elections is welcoming these very forces back into her Congress as is amply seen in Mysore, Gujerat and Bihar. In Goa, the United Goans Party and the Indicate Congress had an alliance. The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party had also attempted to forge a front with the Indicate Congress.

The democratic forces in Goa are weak and scattered. The C.P.I. (M) will make every effort to move in the direction of the United Front. A modest beginning can be made by conducting struggles on the live issues that are being faced by the people such as increase in the wage-packet of the working class and middleclass employees; decrease in the prices of essential commodities and holding-up of the ever-rising price-line; complete neutralisation of price-rise with cent per cent D.A., full protection to munddkars and other house-site tenants against eviction and their right to own their home-steads; distribution of all Governmental, Communidade and big landlords' lands without any compensation, to the cultivators and agricultural labourers with full proprietory rights; non-interference by the police in the disputes between workers and employees as well as between kisans and landlords; for full democratic liberties and against police repression and semi-fascist laws, etc., etc.

A number of patriots and freedom-fighters feel that the struggle for liberation is over with the liquidation of the Portuguese Rule. In fact, the struggle for economic emancipation and full democracy has begun with the rout of fascism. The struggle has to be continued systematically, consistently and incessantly. The bourgeois-landlord regimes whether in Goa or in New Delhi will make every effort to suppres the democratic movement with repression, semi-fascist terror, murders and with all other foul



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means at their disposal. The democratic forces under their independent class banner will have to forge a United Front and deal severe blows to these reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces in order to pave the way for a People's Democratic Government. Wherever the democratic forces have united as in West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala, in spite of the treacherous role of the Right Communists, they have succeeded in giving smashing blows to both the New Congress and the Jana-Sangh-Old Congress Combine and score brilliant victories. That is the Only Way open to us. There is no other way.

FORWARD TO FULL DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES & PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY!



END

RIGHT C. P.'S TREACHEROUS ROLE

"The Central Committee deplores the treacherous role played by the Right Communist Party and other constituents of the former non-Congress U. F. in this sordid game of the ruling Congress. Not only did they break the U.F. and its Government formed after the 1969 midterm elections, not only did they join the Congress in whipping up the anti-Marxist hysteria, not only did they participate in a number of murderous attacks on the leaders and cadres of the CPI(M) and its allies, but even after the debacle they had at the hands of the electorate in the recent Lok Sabha and Assembly elections, they helped the Congres in reestablishing its Government. The Right Communist Party which claims to be the most uncompromising opponent of the Syndicate Congress unashamedly joined the Syndicate and offered its support to the Ajoy Mukherjee Government. While calling itself a "Communist Party" it has not the least compunction to join hands with all types of rabid anti-Communist.

"In Kerala, too, the Right Communist Party is heading a Government which, with the full support of the ruling Congres has unleashed a reign of police repression and is giving protection to landlords and their goondas. The last few days after the election have seen in Kerala half a dozen instances in which active workers of the agricultural labour and peasant movements have been killed by goondas, not to speak of innumerable instances in which though they were not killed, serious injuries have been inflicted.

"Both in West Bengal and in Kerala, therefore, the Right Communist Party has become the conscious instrument of the terror regime which the ruling Congress wants to establish wherever the working-people are fighting for their democratic rights".

8th - 12th April (1971) Calcutta.

Central Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist).